

Woman Suffrage and The Republican Party.
Prepared ^{and} for delivery before Equal Suffrage
Societies, previous to the meeting at Cleveland in 1893.
Abigail Scott Duvall

With the gradual approach of another important national campaign, in which not only the two great leading political parties are to play a prominent part, wherein one or the other ~~will~~ ^{must} be the ~~winner~~ ^{loser}, while at least two newer and lesser parties will be in the field with their divergent demands for the people's franchises, there comes a time when the Republican party must bestir itself with renewed activity along some line of progress, to which it has hitherto been too often ^{and selfishly} cravenly oblivious, or it will surely meet the defeat it invites by its procrastination. ^P It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the merits or demerits of the ^{many} ~~different~~ ^{temporary} political uprisings of the people ^{upon partisan bases,} with all of whose movements the true philanthropist must have much interest, in some if not many directions. But it is well to call the attention of statesmen who have grown rich and prominent in the service of the Republican party, to which the writer is by nature as loyal as they, to the partially unwritten history of this party's younger and more vigorous years, when its leaders were not afraid to openly avow their loyalty to the fundamental principles of a Republican form of government ^{as so defined} aptly ~~designated~~ ^{termed} by Abraham Lincoln, when he ~~defined~~ it as "A government of the people, for the people and by the people. ~~that~~ ^{no} new definition is necessary."

The active politician of a couple of decades gone, who is as earnestly engaged to-day in manipulating the partisan ~~the~~ machine as he was in his younger days, has no need to be reminded that the summer of 1872 was a period of great uncertainty for the Republican party. An extremely doubtful campaign was ^{before} ~~upon~~ it, in which great complications had arisen to disturb and perplex its leaders.

Horace Greeley had virtually gone over to the Democratic party, taking with him, for a time, a third part of the loyal voters of the nation who had acquired the habit of yielding unquestioned obedience to the behests of the renowned editor, and who found themselves allied by political wedlock to the Lost Cause before they were fully aware of their predicament. *Not* so the loyal equal-rights women of the North, who had been the valued allies of Mr.

Lincoln during all the stormy years of the war, and who naturally desired to perpetuate the principles of Liberty, to whose cause they had given their fathers in council and their husbands and sons in battle. ^P During the entire period of the Great Rebellion the patriotic mothers, wives, daughters and sweethearts of the American soldiers refrained from holding woman suffrage conventions. They accepted the "Negroes' hour" with unselfish disregard of their own disfranchisement, and cheerfully performed the work of the farm, the fireside, the hospital and the sanitary commission, even though almost every home was thrown into mourning for its patriotic dead. Whatever any woman could do, notwithstanding she had perilled

her life in her younger years to give existence to its soldiery,
was eagerly done in her maturer state to ~~illustrate~~ ^{illustrate} the horrors
of a war that women ~~was~~ ^{though} doubly taxed to support ~~it~~ ^{it} had not been
permitted to forestall. Then, when the protracted conflict was
over and the Negro came to the front as an enfranchised citizen;
while yet the mother hearts of the nation were torn and bleeding
from the reflex wounds of battlefields and prison pens, these loyal
women again came to the front, asking for the full and complete rec-
ognition of their own equality with the colored man. They came confi-
dently, believing they had, through bereavement and loyalty, ~~truly~~ ^{honestly}
earned their right to the same law making power that had been con-
ferred upon the colored man without the asking; ~~but~~ ^{but} alas, for the
glory of the Republican party! Their loyalty was repulsed and
their patriotism insulted.

Anna Ella Carroll who had freely furnished Abraham Lincoln
with her plan-and the only accepted and practicable one - for the
Tennessee campaign; and who had unselfishly loaned the United
States government her entire fortune to carry it forward to vic-
tory; Mary A. Livermore, whose work for the sanitary commission
won for her and womankind the lasting gratitude of every sick and
wounded soldier; Clara Barton, to whose philanthropic zeal the
nation is so deeply indebted that nothing but womans complete
enfranchisement can ever discharge its obligations, and Julia Ward
Howe, whose "Battle Hymn of the Republic" will stir the patriotic
pulse of nations yet unborn - these are types of the many women who

came, and alas, for Liberty, are still coming to the front, knocking for ~~women's~~ ^{their} admittance to the rights, emoluments and privileges of a government which treats them as aliens in times of peace, though glad to recognize them as allies in times of peril.'

The Republican party, when confronted with its great dilemma in 1872, finding its supremacy imperilled, quite naturally remembered "the loyal women of America," and proclaimed through its national platform in that memorable year that "their demands for additional rights" were entitled to "respectful consideration."

Although this "plank" in the platform was rejected by many women as a "splinter" quite too slender to support a principle, the majority accepted it as the best and only concession the party was in a position to make to any constituency, however large, which when comprised only of prospective voters, had no present power to speak effectively in its behalf at the ballot box. This majority made such excellent use of the proffered "splinter" that it surprised Mr. Greeley into the admission to some of his closest lady friends, at the close of his unfortunate candidacy, that his most effective opponents during the contest had been found among the woman suffragists.

A few days after the disaffected Republicans had met in Cincinnati and nominated Mr. Greeley, the National Woman Suffrage Association held a convention in New York at Steinway Hall, Elizabeth Cady Stanton presiding. The great editor had a few pronounced friends at the convention, whom Miss Anthony, with her

enlisted in
~~company~~

usual diplomacy, contrived to ~~accompany upon~~ a mission of great importance to Mr. Greeley and ourselves. A committee was formed, at her instigation, of which the present writer was made chairman, with instructions to interview the great editor and learn, *from his* ~~for our-~~ *own apprehension,* ~~what~~ just what help we might expect from him, if elected president, in securing our own enfranchisement.

We found the famous editor in his sanctum surrounded by his subalterns, all bristling, like himself, with hostility to the woman suffrage cause. Mr. Greeley gravely asserted *among other absoluteities,* that he didn't "want women to be men"! And when we assured him that "ballots couldn't change the sex of anybody", he replied curtly, "Go tell your convention that when the time comes that there is no prospect *that* ~~for~~ the help of Horace Greeley *can* ~~to~~ do them any good they can have it".

The result is too well known to require repetition. But the important part played by women in securing the defeat of Mr. Greeley, who, especially after being championed by the Democratic party at Philadelphia, *(a few days after the woman suffrage convention in New York)* considered himself invincible, was too lightly heeded by the Republican Party for its own subsequent good; since all well informed women know that the tribulations which beset it in 1876 were the result of woman's apathy and opposition during the Hayes-Tilden Campaign. Their enthusiasm, which had subsided into apathy after the Republican victory of 1872, for the good reason that it had brought them no redress of political grievances as ~~they~~ *promised,* had been ~~led to expect,~~ was reduced to frigidty when the Republican Party was again in need of votes; and with remarkable

for Haywood Wheeler.

unanimity they resolved to make no effort to assist in the canvass. The party in which they had trusted had been unmindful of its pledges to the loyal women of America. It had placed the Negro man upon a political level with the Scandinavian; the Italian was recognized the equal of the Finlander; the Irishman as the peer of the German; the Englishman as the compeer of the Frenchman and the American as the co-equal of every thing masculine. But they, "the loyal women of America" were relegated to the political companionship of infants, idiots, insane persons, criminals, Chinamen and Jefferson Davis, - a certain well remembered agitator whom the government afterwards punished for high treason by ^{consigning} ~~relegating~~ him to ^{a condition where} ~~the~~ the political equality of women which he ~~enjoyed~~ ^{was humiliated} during the remainder of his remarkable career, ^{being} ~~as~~ the governmental peer of Mary A. Logan, Mother Bickerdyke, and Harriet Beecher Stowe!

Colonel Thomas H. Benton, in his reliable "Thirty Years' View" asserted that the election of William Henry Harrison to the Presidency in 1840 was largely due to the influence of women, who came into active participation in political contests for the first time during the enthusiastic campaign of that memorable year.

There is one note of alarm heard frequently during later years and one well worth considering by a discerning public. It is the cry of "too much voting now." The Reverend Olympia Brown Willis of Wisconsin has recently furnished Congressional Committees with important facts compiled from duly accredited statistics, concerning the present and rapidly increasing domination of foreigners in the

affairs of government, her discoveries being of a nature so startling, with results and so far reaching, if ~~the~~^{their} tendency is not checked, that the Republican party cannot afford to ignore them. The vote of the State of Wisconsin was chosen for analysis by Mrs. Brown-Willis because it was believed by her that its foreign element was already sufficiently established to form a fair basis for logical deductions for the future consideration of the several states where ~~the~~^{its} numerical strength has not yet reached a maximum. The native population of Wisconsin, although outnumbering the foreign born at the census taking of 1880 by 504,847 persons, was dominated at the general election of 1888 by an excess at the polls of 40,000 foreign votes. This vast discrepancy between the census and the vote arises from the fact that native born women, who figure in the census returns as the numerical equals of men, and outnumber the foreign-born of their own sex by tens of thousands, are not reckoned in the ballot box returns, where foreign born men are counted in their full strength. The numerical excess of foreign born men over foreign born women is easily accounted for. Men leave the Father-lands in large numbers while yet unmarried, or with wives and families left behind them, and seek American soil to avoid conscription; to escape punishment for crime; to conquer poverty; to secure homesteads, and often to engender riots and breed anarchy. Women come, when they can, to accompany or follow husbands and sons. But many wives and mothers who fondly hope to come are left behind indefinitely, or altogether.

school-teaching

Educated, intelligent, tax-paying, patriotic American women cannot reasonably be expected to remain content, or silent under the rule of foreign born men, many of whom never learn to speak our language, but the most of whom combine, whenever opportunity is presented, to "impose taxes upon us without our consent."

Of course there are many native-born men who never fail to join the foreigner in this most un-American procedure. Like Mr. Greeley, they "don't want women to be men;" and like him they persist in believing or trying to induce others to believe, that their refusal to grant women the ballot alone prevents the transformation.

Woman Suffrage

I once heard a Senator solemnly explain his adverse vote on the theory that God had "designed women to be mothers;" as if anybody had ever doubted the self-evident fact. And when a lady, who had no opportunity to back her readiness of retort with a reply in the Senate Chamber, told him as he came out smiling to meet her in the rotunda, that, "God had also designed men to be fathers;" therefore, according to his logic men should not be allowed to vote," the grave lawmaker was silent. Another Senator said, "If women vote they must fight." This opponent is a little man, not tall enough for military duty; therefore, there is no probability that he will ever smell gun-powder in battle, but he would think the situation most desperate if those women who are tall enough to shoulder arms, and quite ready to do it *when* necessary, were to arise in their might and deprive him and all men of his stature of the elective franchise.

In the year 1884 the Republican party was again in a dilemma but, ^{because} it was again managed by bad advisors, who refused to profit by its lesson of 1876, ~~and so~~ it failed to guarantee women's "demand for additional rights" any "consideration" whatsoever. Women in large numbers retaliated that year by allying themselves with the Prohibition party; and so cunningly did they combine their forces that the pivotal state of New York was influenced, more largely by them than in any other way, to cast its vote for Mr. Cleveland and thus turn the scale in favor of the Democratic party.

If the Republican party had remained true to the pledge it gave ^{to} women in its platform of 1872, there would have been no Prohibition party in 1884 with legions of women at its back to urge it forward on new lines of political action. *And it is reasonably*

certain that,

Although less than 2 per cent of the women of the Nation are Prohibitionists, the great mass of them would have been enrolled under that banner under stress of political necessity during the Presidential campaign of 1888 if the Republican party had not grown wise enough under previous defeat to give our sex such recognition as it could afford ^{to offer} in its "election plank" in its Chicago platform of that year.

Any class that is persistently denied the exercise of its right to do what it ought to build up will naturally do what it can to tear down. An irresponsible class is always a dangerous class, doubly armed with the elements of impatience and impetuosity,

which the wisest and strongest leaders always find it difficult to guide in emergencies. It was this class of women that joined the Prohibitionists and gave the government to the Democratic party in 1884; and it was this class that in 1888 persisted in saying "The Republican party is opposed to woman suffrage. We do not believe it means to include women in its demand for 'a free ballot and a fair count'; it is again trying to deceive us. It does not mean women but ~~her~~ ^{her} ~~reeds~~ when it says it 'recognizes the rights of every citizen to cast one vote and have the ballot honestly counted' let it learn its duty through the bitterness of another defeat!"

Thousands of women are to-day acting with the Prohibitionists, and will continue so to do, because their awakened activities are welcomed nowhere else. It was largely through their influence during the national campaign of 1888 that Warner Miller was defeated in New York. They could not, or would not see with Miss Anthony, Olympia Brown-Willis, Lucy Stone, Lillie Devereux Blake, and many other leaders of large political experience, that the election plank of the national platform upon which General Harrison was to be made President, ^{had} ~~not only meant what it said but that it promised~~ all that any party, working with the determination to win, could afford to promise to a disfranchised class at a most critical time in its own experience, especially since it was well known that a bona fide pledge to the woman suffrage cause ^{at that time} would arouse much of the foreign, ^{the} all vicious and ignorant and much of the religious voting element of the country against it.

Men fear, most of all, the "unknown element"

of women, in politics. -11-

The thoughts and deeds of many of the women of to-day are like the first over-flow of a long pent lake. The waters of the Connemaugh were not more unruly, after their sudden escape from the enforced confinement of massive masonry, than is the woman Prohibitionist, ~~in politics~~ whose long-pent patriotism, finding sudden popular, ^{it} and erratic vent in the opposite direction to Liberty, is impelled to devastate the political party of her choice because she is forbidden to assist in guiding ^{it}. This long repressed power in woman, having once gained the impetus of activity, cannot be silenced, urged forward as it is by the political parsons and peripatetic stump orators, each backed in his turn by hebdomadal "organs" whose chief motor is the Almighty dollar. And this thoroughly awakened woman-power is destined to grow more and more aggressive and difficult to cope with successfully until men, under the banner of the Republican party, or its otherwise inevitable successor, shall become wise enough to heed the warnings of the political heavens.

It matters not for the purpose of this paper that Prohibition as a means for the cure of intemperance is as inadequate to accomplish desired results as were the efforts of Dame Partington to stay the waves of the Atlantic Ocean with her mop. The large majority of women, even if in the Prohibition ranks, understand this perfectly. When prohibition, even in the local option, or least objectionable form was placed before them at a test election

in Washington Territory in 1886, large numbers of women helped the men to vote it down. They realized that common sense methods must ultimately supersede the fanaticism of the Prohibition movement. And their argument with pulpit orators and stump speakers against prohibition per se, which never has been refuted, was with many variations. like this:-

If you have a friend who is afflicted with an abscess in his side and you should call a physician who would prescribe an inclosed prohibitory plaster to cover up the swelling, or outward evidence of the disease, you would at once brand that physician with quackery. If the doctor understands his business, he will see that the abscess is a result of diseased conditions. And, instead of plastering over the affected part with an adhesive covering, he will speedily place the patient under proper hygienic treatment and permit nature to effect a cure through the wonderful recuperative power which is inherent within the man.

We have a national abscess to deal with in this country, called the liquor traffic. This traffic is not the cause of intemperance, but the result of the diseased conditions of humanity, financially, politically and morally. The sale of liquor, like the sale of shelf-worn clothing, would cease to be so large as to menace communities if it were not for the demand that creates it. Women dislike drunken husbands quite as much as men dislike drunken wives. Given: a race of women who are free and equal with men

before the law; with consequent equal opportunities for occupation,
voluntarism, education and office holding, and two generations will
pass away before husbands and fathers will voluntarily hold
themselves to as strict a line of moral rectitude as they to-day,
~~and~~

feminine consent, demand of wives and daughters. Women under
such conditions ~~will~~ ^{can refuse} ~~cease~~ to be mothers of men who are slaves to
appetite. A mother-hen will hatch geese or ducks instead of chick-

ens when circumstances compel her to do so, just as mother-women
will often bear drunkards, or other moral monstrosities, when they
could have gladly borne honorable and upright men, if the condi-
tions ~~had been favorable~~.

Surrounding them had
made their dearest desires possible of fulfillment.
Mother-love - the strongest of the feminine
tributes - will surely enhance maternal
enlightenment, resulting in ~~as~~ crowning good
to the race, when empowered, as it surely
will be in the near future, with the
moral, domestic and financial emanci-
pation which can only accrue to it
through political liberty.

The two words force and freedom are in exact juxtaposition. *imply responsibility*
One signifies coercion and the other ~~liberty~~. The idea ~~of~~ one *convey is*
would ~~imply~~ that men must be compelled to abstain from evil by
forcing the government to place the opportunity to err beyond their
reach, and that of the other would inspire men to do right from the
love of right. Woman suffragists represent this latter and larger
class; prohibitionists the former, the smaller and we think, the *wholly*
illogical one. *It* It was not the "tariff issue," great as it was, nor the
"river and harbor question", nor yet the "record of the war" that
induced the great multitude of loyal women of America to stand by
the Republican *Party* in the last presidential campaign.

Had we been unanimously in favor of the Prohibition party; or,
rather, had we not been very largely opposed to it, the scale would
have turned again in favor of the Democratic *Party*, as it did in
1864, when we were given no recognition by the Republican *Party*,
and consequently made no effort to secure its triumph. But the
party's platform plank of 1868 that pledged us all we had any
at that time,
right to ask, because it was all the party could safely accord to
under stress of its own peril,
as, inspired our National method, put Judith Ellen Foster at the
head of our National Committee, and placed our foremost speakers
and journalists at the party service. Should the leaders of the
party, now fortunately in the ascendant, dodge the issue again, as
it did in 1872, and ever after until 1888, it will be compelled in

1892 to learn a more humiliating lesson than was taught it in 1876, and may prepare to meet ^{even} a more disastrous defeat in 1896 than befell it in 1884. History always repeats itself with added emphasis.

The party acted wisely in avoiding specific mention of women in its platform of 1888. To have raised the question of woman suffrage at such a time would have arrayed against it all the ignorance and tyranny of the native and foreign vote. But when the party is again triumphant; after it has gained another four years' lease of power, it can safely declare itself in favor of woman's enfranchisement ^{and thus perpetuate its supremacy.} That the vast majority of its leaders and thinking men are not averse to this measure, so manifestly in keeping with the party's entire line of action, in its vigorous youth, was proven in 1888 by the affirmative vote of twenty-four Republican senators in Congress in favor of recognizing the right of the women of Washington Territory to retain their right to vote in spite of the adverse ruling of the Democratic judges of the Supreme Court of the Territory, who were appointees of President Cleveland. Those judges over-rode the expressed will of the majority of both sexes by this ruling. They declared themselves "invested with power to legislate for women in all cases whatsoever". And, to make their ruling effective, they, as women believe, and as Congress has decided in regard to Wyoming's women voters, transcended both the letter and spirit of the Organic Act, which expressly delegates to Territories, not in rebellion, the right to

determine the qualifications of their own voters through their respective Legislatures. Of the United States Senators whose names appear in the Congressional Record in disapproval of this ruling and in favor of a Sixteenth Amendment to the National Constitution granting suffrage to women, all are Republicans, as follows:- Messrs. Hoar, Cullom, Chace, Palmer, Dolph, Blair, Mitchell, Teller, Dawes, Stewart, Manderson, Platt, Wilson, Paddock, Farwell, Bowen, Stanford, Davis, Jones, Sabin, Frye, Chandler, Plumb, and Sherman. A formidable showing, truly; and one which so plainly indicates the drift of Republican sentiment as to require no comment.

General Harrison, who, by the grace of God, the votes of men and the influence of women, was safely seated in the Presidential chair in 1889, made use of the following significant language in his famous letter of acceptance:-

"I would like to hear a bugle call resounding through the land demanding a pure ballot. A free ballot, honestly expressed and fairly counted, is the main safeguard of our institutions; and its suppression, under any circumstances, ~~cannot~~^{is} be tolerated".

In the President's inaugural address, is found the following:-
"Those who have been for years calling attention to the pressing necessity of throwing about the ballot box and about the elector~~or~~ further safeguards, in order that our elections might not only be pure and free, but might clearly appear to be so, will welcome the

accession of any who did not so soon discover the need of reform. X X X. The freedom of the ballot is a condition of our National life, and no power vested in Congress or in the executive to secure or perpetuate it should remain unused upon occasion X X X. The sympathy and help of our people will not be withheld from any community struggling with special embarrassments or difficulties connected with the suffrage if the remedies proposed proceed upon lawful lines and are promoted by just and honorable methods X X X. The man who has come to regard the ballot-box as a juggler's hat has renounced his allegiance".

The "special embarrassments" connected with the suffrages of women in Washington Territory were quite as difficult to meet, and certainly as unlawfully promoted, as those ^{which were in} use to suppress the colored vote in the Southern States. And it would have been gratifying indeed to women who have faithfully adhered to the Republican party, in spite of the proffered aid of the Prohibitionists, if they could have seen in the seat of power a ^{who was} man broad enough in his views and fearless enough in expressing them on the very threshold of his administration to make such declarations, sufficiently honest to carry them out, to the end that they could feel warranted in relying upon his firmness in executing the laws for the protection of women as well as ~~negroes~~ ^{negroes}. But the loyal women of Washington Territory relied in vain upon the Republican party to perpetuate their enfranchisement. They denied the authority of an appointive and ephemeral Democratic judiciary to "exercise an unwarrantable jurisdiction over them". And they did what they

could to undo its nefarious work in the Autumn of 1889, while the vote was pending that made their Territory a state with their ballots excluded. ^{by the Constitution} By thus conniving at political usurpation in the Northwest the Republican Party became the active tool and willing ally of the Democratic Party of the South, ^{It judges of election} and refused the votes of women electors in direct violation of the Federal law, and in open hostility to the same Republican form of government which is in active force to-day in Wyoming, where the status of woman suffrage under Territorial law was precisely analogous to that of Washington under the laws enacted by its own legislature.

It was through this policy, carried out under cover of a Democratic method, in a commonwealth largely Republican, that the men of Washington were able to shut the iron doors of a state constitution in the faces of the women voters. But the Republican Party, despite its many sins of omission and commission, is so solidly allied to the cause of equal rights that it cannot wholly dodge its manifest duty, since by the record it has made ^{in Congress} in its efforts to prevent the unwarrantable jurisdiction of political ^{usurpers} ~~surplus~~ over those empowered at any time with electoral rights, ~~It~~ has plainly provided Federal, if not local redress for such grievances (See United States Revised Statutes; law enacted May 31st, 1870; Chapter 14, Section 2, page 80), which especially stipulates that every judge of election who refuses to receive and record such ballots "shall forfeit the sum of Five Hundred (\$500) Dollars to the party aggrieved by such refusal or omission, to be

recovered by an action on the case with costs, and such allowance for counsel fees as the court may deem just".

That the Republican Party has not, in its later and less honorable years, obeyed the law of its earlier making, and is therefore under the ban of the righteous impeachment ^{by} ~~of~~ patriotic citizens, is evidenced by the late decisions of the courts of Washington State, wherein this enactment of Congress is flagrantly nullified. ^H The enfranchisement of women as a question of abstract right, cannot be successfully opposed by anybody. There are questions of political expediency to be considered, however, in connection therewith, which the Republican Party cannot long remain dominant and ignore. The Whig Party dallied with human slavery until internal dissensions wrought its complete disintegration. The uprising of the Prohibitionists ~~in~~ ^{is} a distinctly anti-Republican measure - the formation of the Farmers' Alliance, the active coalition of Labor Reformers ^{of every grade,} alike proclaim the prevailing discontent within the ranks of the Republican Party, which formerly comprised a political unity of forces as patriotic as it was irresistible.

The Party is again upon the verge of perilous times. It approaches a National Campaign, handicapped by a Democratic House of Representatives, into whose hands it will be the policy of opposing political forces to throw, if possible, the decision of the Electoral vote. It has not fulfilled its pledges to "the loyal women of America", nor sustained President Harrison in his

ringing promise (made before election) "not to tolerate the suppression of the ballot under any circumstances".

What does it propose to do with the woman suffrage question in the coming crisis? There is no other vital issue before it that has not already been espoused or openly opposed. The "loyal women" are in its ranks and they are there to stay, ~~not as~~ ^{recognized} ~~subordinates~~ but as equals; ~~and~~ ^{but} if they deem it necessary to repeat the lesson of its defeat, as in former years, it will find them organized as never before to perform the unpleasant duty.